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ABSTRACT

Based on an ethnographic study of Austin and San Antonio, Texas, this paper deals with the settlement process by which "indocumentados" (undocumented Mexican workers) and their families integrate themselves into U.S. society and its labor market and the multiple strategies they use to sustain themselves socially and economically. The study shows that considerable separation and insularity characterize the settlement process. Undocumented workers maintain a certain social distance even from the Mexican-Americans in the community. This both indicates some containment of their labor market mobility and suggests that national origin per se is not the sole dimension of ethnicity determining how workers fare in the U.S. occupational structure. Undocumented workers do not attain status through occupational mobility, but rather by financial accumulation. Their prospects for mobility in the U.S. occupational structure are largely intergenerational; few undocumented workers themselves escape the exploitation of low-skilled, low-paying jobs. (CMG)

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The Migration of Mexican Indocumentados as a Settlement Process: Implications for Work

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Although this paper bears two names it is really a product of a larger group, the members of the Texas Indocumentado Study, who have contributed much to the development of the approach taken here. In particular, we wish to acknowledge the contributions of Rogelio Nuñez, co-director, as well as those of David Benke, Waltraut Feindt, and Harriet Romo. We are also indebted to the discussants at the conference, Solomon Polachek and Robert Bach. The latter, in particular, raised some important points that have stimulated us to reconsider our argument. Our thanks to Humberto Muñoz and Orlandina de Oliveira, who provided timely encouragement and suggestions.

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The Migration of Mexican Indocumentados as a Settlement Process: Implications for Work

"Illegal aliens," "mojados," "undocumented workers"--there is not even agreement as to what they should be called.[1] Few features of American life in the last decade or so have generated as much interest and concern as the large-scale movement of Mexican nationals without papers who cross the U.S. border in search of employment. The mass media, especially in the Southwest, regularly run stories on this group, sometimes of an alarmist tone, and on the political level the two most recent presidents of the United States have formulated plans that attempt to deal with this problem.

Even the scholarly community, somewhat tardily, has begun to look closely at this phenomenon.[2] As a result, it is no longer possible, as would have been the case only a few years ago, to state that the ignorance about indocumentados is almost total. Yet our knowledge is still fragmentary and therefore likely to provide a somewhat distorted view of the subject. Most studies of indocumentados have taken one of two quite different approaches: the individual (micro) level or the global, international (macro) level. Characteristically, the individual level is tapped by questionnaires administered to those apprehended in attempting to cross the border or to those contacted in some other manner. The survey approach permits the compilation of population profiles by aggregating the individual responses to a range of questions (sex, age, birthplace, method of crossing, jobs in the United States, use of social services, etc.).[3] At the other extreme are analysts who pose broad questions such as, "What is the impact upon the capitalist systems

of Mexico and the U.S.A. of this type of geographical mobility?" This political economy approach takes the individual as given and makes problematic the structures—economic, political--through which that person moves.[4]

Each approach is legitimate, offering perspectives and insights that the other cannot consider. But even when considered together (which is rarely the case),[5] they provide an incomplete understanding of the situation of indocumentados. A full perspective requires consideration of a number of intermediate levels that lie between the individual and the international level. A list of the levels, from macro to micro, might cover the following elements: (1) international, (2) national, (3) regional (especially the Southwest), (4) community, (5) workplace, (6) welfare and leisure institutions, (7) interethnic relationships (especially Chicano-indocumentado), (8) neighborhood (barrio), (9) family or household, (10) individual. No single research project can be expected to devote equal attention to all ten levels, but researchers should be aware of how changes introduced in one level (i.e., the national level through implementation of the Reagan program) would have significant impacts on many of the other levels.

The Texas Indocumentado Study has chosen to concentrate on levels 4 through 9, from the community to the family or household. During several years of field experience, our attention has shifted from the traditional emphasis on the individual--the "classic" depiction of the young, unattached male coming across the border for a limited period of time and then returning to Mexico—to those indocumentados who may be characterized as settlers because their actions are likely to lead to permanent

settlement (although they themselves would not necessarily say that this was their intent).

The shift of emphasis from the temporary migrant to those involved in settlement involves changes to broaden the study design. As will be noted, different field techniques have become appropriate and important changes have occurred in the conceptualization and methodology of the investigation. A central alteration is the unit of analysis, which shifted from the individual to the family or household. Family formation is a major consideration and introduces factors that are not present in dealing with individuals. For example, the contributors to household income may include wives and older children. Because of younger children born in the United States, the indocumentado family is much more likely to become involved in a wider range of community institutions, especially health care organizations (hospitals, pediatric care, etc.) and schools.

Illegality, a basic identifying characteristic of these people, takes on a different meaning for families. An unattached male or female, in the country for only a few months, can be rather nonchalant about the prospect of being apprehended by the migra (as the Immigration and Naturalization Service is called), but the situation for families is much more complex and uncertain. The costs of getting back across the border are higher, and there is always the possibility of family separation. (One mother who is employed with her husband full time, outside the home, has a recurrent nightmare that the two of them will be picked up and deported, leaving the children to fend for themselves.) The longer the family remains in the United States the greater is the pressure to acquire legal status, for the lack of it raises problems and obstacles at every turn.

The length of U.S. residence of the family unit also generates new conditions that must be met. The short-term migrant has no ambivalence about his or her status as a Mexican, but for those who have resided for years in the United States the matter of self-identity becomes more ambiguous, and for the children born or brought up in this country, the question of identity—Mexican or Chicano—inevitably produces uncertainties and tensions within the family.

The shift to a focus on the settlement process thus introduces many new aspects and requires a broader research design. In particular, time as an analytical variable becomes more significant. Short-term migrants often do not change the pattern of their activities, even if they engage in repeat migrations. The temporal parameters of the individual life cycle serve to characterize this kind of migration, but when dealing with the family unit the family life cycle must be introduced with its inherently more complex relationships that change over time.

Historical time also is important. The periods when migrants come across must be related to changes in the national economy, especially labor market conditions in the area of destination, as well as developments during the stay of the migrants. These factors must be evaluated in a different way from the experience of short-term migrants.

In confronting the analytically challenging task of assembling data from a variety of sources, ordering them, and then developing a coherent interpretation of the settlement process of indocumentados, we have elaborated a set of three analytic models that have proved, in our judgment, useful in dealing with the complexity of the situation. We must caution that the term "model" in our usage is not a rigorous formulation subject to direct testing. Rather, it is a loose conceptual

formulation, helpful in analyzing the data. Each of the three models incorporates time as an explicit dimension and each can be used for a level of analysis other than that of the individual.

At this point we briefly introduce the three models, deferring to a later section their elaboration. The broadest, most inclusive is the Reproduction Model. It addressses the question of how the indocumentados reproduce themselves both demographically and socially. Included is the legal status of the indocumentados. The other two models set forth conditions affecting the social reproduction of this population.

The Resource Accumulation Model explores the manner by which indocumentados, in the process of their incorporation into U.S. society, acquire and utilize resources of four kinds: financial, work, social, and cultural. The third model, Chicano-Indocumentado Separation Model, examines the crucial contacts between members of the host Chicano community and the indocumentados. The two groups have certain similarities and differences; we will use the model to show how structural factors tend to separate them in three contexts—work, associational, and cultural.

This paper briefly describes some features of the Texas Indocumentado project, emphasizing labor participation. Each of the models is then elaborated. In the final section we discuss the implications for the labor process of the conceptual and methodological framework. We pose the question, What analytic leads that will help us understand the work conditions of indocumentados emerge from a consideration of the settlement process, taking the family or household as the unit of analysis? We will discuss the relationship of the household to work participation, the

work separation of indocumentados and Chicanos, factors affecting job mobility, and the benefits to employers of employing indocumentado labor.

THE TEXAS INDOCUMENTADO STUDY

Over a period of more than three years, financed by two sources (The Mexico-United States Border Research Program at the University of Texas at Austin, directed by Stanley Ross, and a grant from the population division of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD), the Texas Indocumentado Study has carried out field work in the metropolitan communities of Austin and San Antonio. Both are far enough from the border (150 miles and more) so they do not share the characteristics peculiar to the border zone, but are close enough to be convenient destinations for indocumentados. San Antonio has a 1980 city population of 785,000, 54% of Mexican origin; Austin has a 1980 city population of 345,496, with a Mexican-origin population of 19%.[6] The two communities differ not only in population size, but also in the relative, and of course the absolute, size of the "host" community, the Chicano population. They also differ in their historical development. San Antonio can be characterized as an "old" community of destination for Mexican migrants, legal and illegal, for it is possible to trace the migratory flows back for many decades. Labor recruiters were sent to Mexico in the early decade of the century to contract for workers.[7] In contrast, Austin may be termed a "new" community of destination, with fewer and more recently arrived indocumentados.

Because of these and other factors, Austin and San Antonio differ in what may be termed the "opportunity structures" that confront indocumen-

tado migrants upon their arrival. Each community presents a different industry-occupation mix of employment opportunities. Both have a higher than average number of government service industries, but of different kinds: the military in San Antonio, state government and the university in Austin. Consequently, San Antonio is more a blue collar metropolis and Austin is more a white collar community. None of the government-based industries directly hire many indocumentados, but they do provide substantial employment for Chicanos.

In terms of the respective labor markets, Austin and San Antonio differ in the mix of industry jobs for indocumentados. San Antonio has more opportunities in the garment industry, certain food processors, and wholesaling (it is a major processor and distributor of Mexican food products), and Austin has the mining industry of lime production and the manufacturing industry of cement precasting. Both are strong in construction and in restaurant and hotel employment.

What is striking in both communities is the virtual absence of indocumentado employment in white collar positions and its concentration in the secondary labor market sector, even when indocumentados are employed in primary sectors. The workplaces differ considerably in terms of size, level of technology, and organizational structure, but there is much less variation in terms of secondary labor market characteristics: little job security, much fluctuation in hours worked per week, physically demanding jobs, often of a dirty and sometimes dangerous nature, etc. Congruent with other studies, we find that most indocumentados are paid the minimum wage rate, but the hourly variations due to weather and fluctuations of demand create great and unpredictable variation in income.

Indocumentado workers also must deal with abuse from employer or supervisor. In smaller firms, ability to keep the job sometimes depends upon personal relations with the owner or supervisor (for women, sexual abuse is not uncommon). In the larger and organizationally more complex firms, supervision of indocumentados is in the hands of Chicanos who sometimes are paternalistic and at times abusive.

Women indocumentados, whether unattached or living in unions, often work outside the home. Even women with quite young children work, still an unusual pattern in Mexico. We believe this occurs not only because tight family finances often require the mother's contribution, but also because the social pressures in Mexico put on a mother not to work are much weaker in the United States. Working mothers often must rely upon older children to care for and supervise the younger children. Women work in various personal services (laundries, cafeterias, hotels and motels, as maids, etc.) and in various labor-intensive manufacturing establishments (textile and garment factories, food processing, mattress factory, etc.). Their work is less subject to weekly fluctuations owing to weather variations than is that of men, but seasonal factors and other variations in demand produce considerable fluctuations in income. Although both men and women indocumentados have jobs that offer little in the way of upward job mobility, women's work has even greater dead-end characteristics than that of men.

Indocumentados not only must function as producers, because they either find work or must return to Mexico, but also as consumers. Like every one else, they must find shelter and sustenance. Just as San Antonio and Austin present different employment opportunity structures to incoming migrants, they also differ in their consumption opportunity

structures. For reasons related to the absolute and relative size of the Chicano populations of Austin and San Antonio and the historical development of the two communities, San Antonio offers greater consumption opportunities specifically oriented to indocumentados than does Austin. This holds for low-cost housing, retailers catering to "Mexican" tastes, and personal and social services, notably those in the field of health.

Housing is an especially important consideration for families. Unattached male migrants often share a dwelling or a room with other men, thereby reducing housing costs, but a couple with children generally must try to find a single dwelling or an apartment. Even if they take boarders, their costs are higher. Indocumentados are not eligible for public low-cost housing, so they must find something suitable in the private sector. In San Antonio there are landlords who specialize in catering to indocumentado tenants; those tenants are required to pay high rents in cash and on time, and are less likely to complain about housing defects.

In San Antonio one can find in the markets many Mexican foods not as easily available in Austin, and there are more restaurants, record stores, and radio stations catering to indocumentado tastes. Spanish is a more common language among Anglos in San Antonio than in Austin.

Field Work Procedures

Study of the indocumentado population presents an array of difficulties not generally encountered in social research. Sampling, establishing contacts, and the "protection of human subjects" pose many problems. This is not the place for a full discussion of these difficulties and how we attempted to cope with them. Suffice it to say that these unusual conditions make the study of indocumentados in the field a

slower and less efficient process than is generally the case. Since conditions and procedures did not allow us to draw a representative sample, we cannot say with certainty anything about the total indocumentado population of Austin and San Antonio, much less of other parts of the United States. Nor do we attempt to demonstrate the extent of individual variation within these populations. Our goal has been to understand basic patterns for indocumentado populations: how they get to communities of destination, what kinds of jobs they find, their patterns of consumption, the ways they relate to Chicanos, and what happens to their children. There is no one response for any of these questions, but there is enough commonality of experience to permit the basic patterns to be determined.

The first fieldwork in San Antonio, more than three years ago, was on a small scale and was exploratory in nature. Contacts were made through key informants, who introduced us to indocumentados. This resulted basically in a snowball sampling design, working through the social networks of our sponsors. We made a special effort to contact women, and we interviewed several "coyotes" (those who guide the indocumentados across the border) for their experiences in getting indocumentados across, but we did not at that time concentrate on those who were part of the settlement process. Later on, David Benke, as part of his assignment to explore the opportunity structures of San Antonio and Austin, set up interviews with informants knowledgeable about indocumentados and assembled a variety of data from published and unpublished sources.

With the NICHD grant we originally planned to carry out as many as 1200 interviews, but we shifted from a survey emphasis to one more ethnographic in nature when we began work in Austin. In part, this was due

to fortuitous circumstances. Codirectors Núñez and Rodríguez had, before the grant award, begun an informal school for the children of indocumentados, and through them we were able to gain entree to their parents. We made the shift mainly, however, for theoretical and methodological reasons. We became intrigued with the problems posed by the settlement process, and it seemed to us that this aspect had received little attention in other research. We shifted from questionnaires not because they are impossible to carry out with this group, although they are difficult to execute on a large scale and in a short time, but because we believe it is difficult to fully identify and characterize the patterns of indocumentado adjustment with questionnaires. We wanted to determine interpersonal relationships within households and to see how household composition changed over time. To take another example, the matter of relationships between Chicano and indocumentados is complex and delicate. If we had depended upon responses to questionnaires we would have obtained polite, "no problem" kinds of responses. Our Chicano interviewers found that it took repeated contacts before indocumentados developed enough trust to say what they really believed.

In Austin we are working intensively with about 50 families. We obtain information on all the approximately 250 members of the households, and we have a file on the household itself. In-depth and semistructured interviews are carried out, generally with recorders; the interviews are then transcribed.

DIMENSIONS OF REPRODUCTION

Reproduction always has been a central preoccupation of demographers. A population will perpetuate itself by ensuring that the "exits" from it

(deaths and outmigration) will at least be balanced by the "entries" (births and inmigration). But it is not enough to ensure a supply of warm bodies; there must also be a reproduction of the many statuses and positions that make up a social structure. One of the great merits of Marx is that more than a century ago he saw the necessity to be explicit about the reproduction of a social structure and the mechanisms that make it possible.

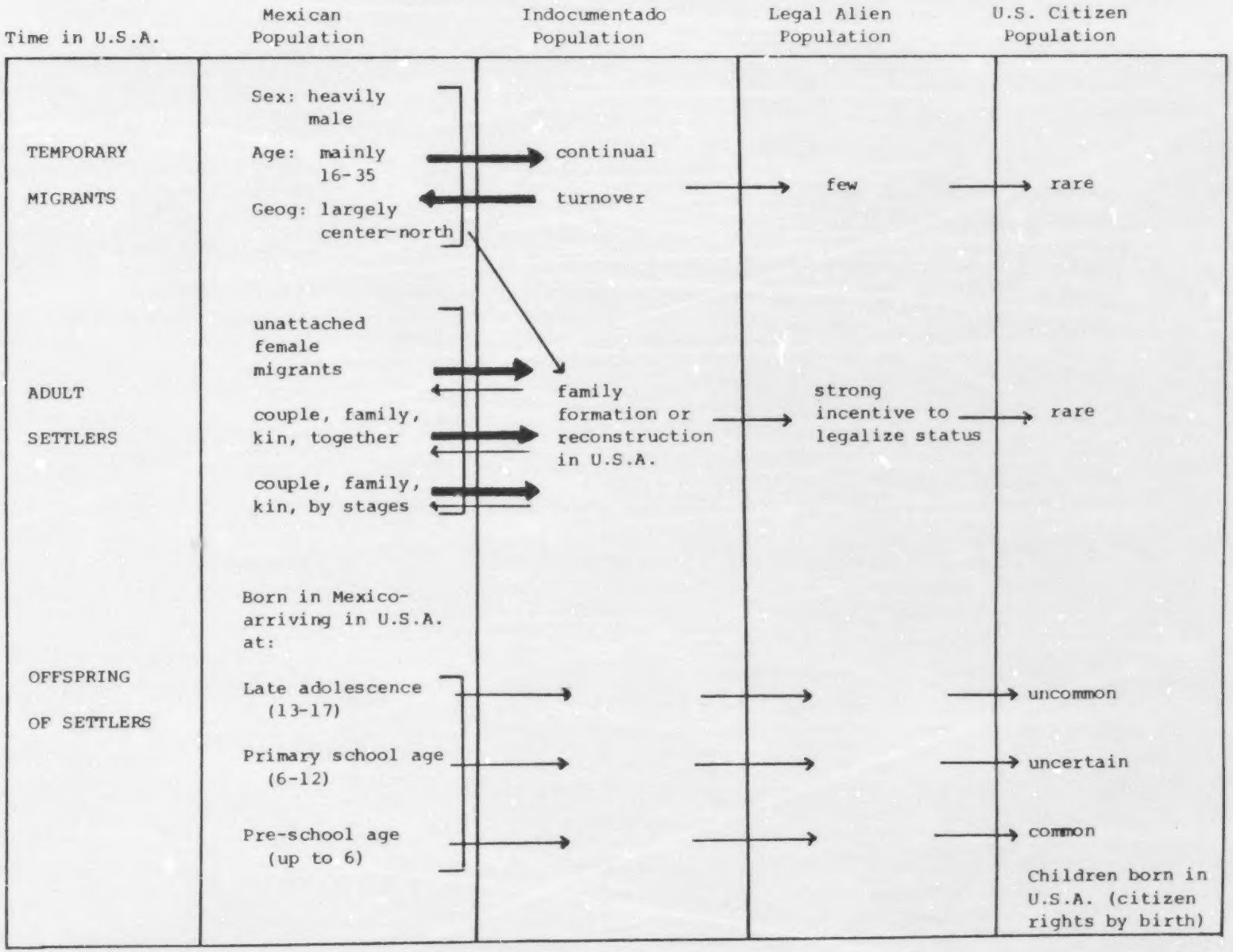
Reproduction is not a simple matter, even under the simplest of conditions—a closed, stationary population undergoing minimal social change--and the special circumstances of the indocumentados make them particularly difficult to capture under the rubrics of demographic and social reproduction. Figure 1 should make this clear. Indocumentado population change is not just a function of three demographic variables: fertility, mortality, and migration. It is also essential to take into account legal status and time in the United States.

The top panel depicts the older, "classic" form of indocumentado migration. Young unattached males, originating mainly in about a dozen Mexican states, cross the border to work for limited periods and then return to Mexico. (Sometimes the same individual will repeat the process several times.) As the arrows are intended to indicate, entries and exits are virtually equal, with the result that there is a continual turnover of the indocumentado population. Few go on to become legal aliens and even fewer become U.S. citizens.

The second panel, "Adult Settlers," is more complex; it must try to represent the various ways by which migrants from Mexico construct settlement patterns. The key feature is the formation of stable unions, legal or consensual, which usually produce offspring. Some ostensibly

Figure 1

Population Change among Migrants in Terms of Legal Status and Time in United States



temporary male migrants join this category. Their chances for unions are enhanced by the growing numbers of unattached females crossing the border. Either sex, however, may form unions with legal aliens or American citizens. In addition, unattached migrants may reconstitute family units by arranging for the missing members to be brought across. Finally, there are entire nuclear families coming into the country as a unit. However formed, these family units are more likely than are unattached migrants to remain in the United States (save for visits to Mexico). They want to regularize their situation by becoming legal aliens, but few believe it necessary or desirable to become U.S. citizens.

The children of these families are of special interest, with a complexity all their own. It is essential to distinguish four groups. Those children born in Mexico and brought to the United States as late adolescents (ages 13-17) behaviorally belong in the "Adult Settlers" category, for they are considered both by their parents and by themselves to be adults rather than adolescents. Too old easily to be incorporated into the school system, they generally get full-time jobs, continue to speak Spanish, and maintain their Mexican identity, just as do their parents. In the second group are those of school age (ages 6-12) who often are enrolled in schools, although the older ones may have considerable difficulty "fitting" into the system. The third group, preschool children (ages through 5), are most likely to adjust best to the school system, and spend their formative years (ages 6-14) in the United States. They resemble most the fourth group, those children born in the United States, except that the latter have U.S. citizenship rights by virtue of their birth.[8] Culturally, the great majority of the last

two groups will grow up to be Chicanos, since they lack direct contact with Mexico and will acquire competency in English at an early age. In contrast, the late adolescents, and some of the school-age children, like their parents, will continue to consider themselves Mexicans, no matter how long they live in the United States.

It should be apparent that the demographic-citizenship model is both complex and indeterminate. Consider some of the strictly demographic consequences of the fact that migration rather than natural increase is the main source of the perpetuation of the indocumentado population. It is a more unstable source because historically the volume of migration has fluctuated greatly. Because of the importance of return and circular migration, the distinction between gross and net migration is very significant. The sex ratio has none of the predictable regularities discernible in populations dominated by natural increase. Although gaining both absolutely and relatively, the female representation is still much below the male. Finally, migration produces a peculiar age distribution, unlike the symmetrical age-sex pyramid generated by natural increase. Of course, those who settle will have more "normal" demographic patterns, but they still represent a minor share of the total indocumentado population.

In terms of citizenship, there is no inevitable sequential passage from one status to the next—from Mexican residence to indocumentado status to legal alien to U.S. citizen. A return to Mexico is always a possibility. One must also take into account whether the return is voluntary or involuntary.

Social reproduction obviously is dependent upon demographic reproduction to provide people to occupy positions in the social structure. In

setting forth the conditions of the social reproduction of indocumentados we are confronted with much of the same complexity that was encountered in discussing demographic reproduction. Social reproduction must take into account two social structures--that in Mexican-origin communities and that in U.S.-destination communities. Fully developed, this could lead us to consider such distinctive features of Mexican peasant communities as the fiesta system or, in the United States, the role of voluntary associations in integrating individuals within the community, all of which lie beyond the scope of this paper. We will concentrate on two crucial features of indocumentado social reproduction: family and kinship networks, and work patterns.

Even in the period of massive structural change that Mexico has experienced over the past 40 years or so, the Mexican family and kinship structure remains at the center of an individual's existence. The question is to what extent indocumentados are able to reproduce their family-kin situations in the United States. The critical distinction between indocumentados who come for brief periods and those who choose to settle is that the former need not attempt any reproduction of family or kin structures here because they are only transient, while the latter must try to constitute such structures. A nuclear family can be formed in the United States or introduced from Mexico, but it is impossible for the full range of the kinship network to be reproduced north of the border. Three generational families occasionally are to be found, but the full reproduction of the impressive array of aunts, uncles, and cousins that Mexico's high-fertility system generates is not possible.

The real question is whether enough of the extended kin system exists to facilitate the incorporation of the migrants into American society.

The pattern of indocumentado migration to the United States displays similarities with internal migration within Mexico, particularly movements from villages to metropolises such as Monterrey (see Balan, Browning, and Jelin, 1975). We have come to recognize that migration is very much a social process in which people migrate to places where there is someone, most often a relative, already known to them. In the case of Austin, a number of families originated from one village. A migratory chain was formed between it and Austin, and as a result new arrivals to Austin can count on assistance.

What we are describing is the functioning of social networks, a concept that has become increasingly important in the interpretation of a variety of behaviors in Third World countries, whether family survival strategies, migration, or labor processes. Social networks are a kind of lubricant that facilitate adjustment and adaptation and reduces personal stress. In the context of indocumentado migration it should be noted that the successful operation of the social network is not a direct function of its size or complexity. To illustrate, one indocumentado family upon arrival may obtain all the help it needs in settling in and finding work from just one family of relatives already living in the community, whereas another incoming family may call upon three or four families and compadres for assistance.

The reproduction of labor depends upon the existence of social networks, especially in finding jobs. Here we consider two other features: skill levels, and social relations. It is sometimes argued that indocumentados will have difficulties in reproducing their skills in the United States because the organization of work differs greatly from that in Mexico. The question becomes, How can Mexican peasants adapt themselves

to work in a highly industrialized society? Yet none of our indocumentado respondents mentioned any problems of this nature. Why? The explanation is that in both countries the kind of work these people are called upon to do is manual labor, ranging from such basic skills as wielding a shovel to the more advanced skills of bricklaying, carpentry, painting, etc. Such work is common in Mexico and is easily transferred to a work site in the United States.

What about the social relations on the job? Isn't the change from the small-scale work situation in Mexico to the large bureaucratic structures of the United States a major difference? Typically, indocumentados do not work in large-scale enterprises; when they do, it is often in enclave situations which shield them from the full impact of large bureaucracies. Often the patron relationship is encountered, and if in the United States the patron is sometimes harsh and exploitive of the workers, this is also all too familiar a pattern in Mexico. In that country there also is little job security and few fringe benefits, and the work is physically demanding and the hours long. Thus, in terms of skills and social relations, indocumentados find situations in the United States not greatly different from those in Mexico.

FOUR FORMS OF RESOURCE ACCUMULATION

The settlement process for indocumentados has many aspects; one significant feature that is important in the success, and even the very continuation, of the process is the ability of individuals, families, or households to assemble and make use of a variety of resources. The question is how the diversity of resources can best be addressed in an

analytically consistent manner. The model we choose to develop is that of resource accumulation.[9] We first briefly identify the four forms of accumulation, consider their common features, and then indicate how they are applicable to the situation of indocumentados.

The accumulation process is demonstrable in four forms of capital.

1. Financial resources: either in liquid form (money) or in the form of salable assets (property, goods, etc.).
2. Work resources: the various skills needed to execute work tasks, acquired in formal educational institutions or on-the-job training. Work resources as a concept has an affinity to what has come to be known as human resources.
3. Social resources: the development of interpersonal bonds that not only facilitate overall social adjustment in a new locale, but also enhance the opportunities for other forms of resource accumulation. The formation and operation of social networks is central to social resources accumulation.
4. Cultural resources: acquisition of information about the community of settlement that permits a better adaptation to it (growing "savvy" about where to go and how to get things done). In particular it includes language acquisition (in this case, English).

There are common features of the accumulation process which are applicable to one degree or another to the four forms of resources:

1. The temporal dimension. Accumulation takes time, since acquisition is behavioral in nature; one must do something to acquire the forms of resources (e.g., learn a trade, save money, expand a social network, acquire a language).

2. Accumulation is a two-way process. All forms of resources can be used up or dissipated; work skills will atrophy if not practiced; social networks require maintenance through interaction or they will fall apart; and language skills will be lost without practice.

3. Portability. The forms of resources differ in how readily and easily they can be taken from one setting to another. Financial resources are the easiest, but even here the sale of land and housing for cash may be difficult on short notice. As already indicated in the discussion of social reproduction, the portability of work resources of Mexican workers is greater than sometimes assumed. The degree to which an individual or family can "plug into" another social network will vary. In general, cultural resources are not easily portable, although language can be studied prior to the move.

4. Transferability. In varying degrees, capital can be transferred from one individual to another or shared with other members of a family or household. As with portability, financial resources are most easily transferred. It is a much more complex matter with respect to the other three forms of resources. With time and effort many work, social, and cultural resources can be transferred from one person in a household to another, but there are often difficulties--i.e., females take on male work roles, adolescents assume adult positions in social networks. It should be pointed out that a family or household need not have all its members possess the same form of resources to the same degree. Thus, the cultural resources of a family will be enhanced if just one

member, even a child, can acquire enough English skills to act as an intermediary for the others.

In addressing the utility of resource accumulation to the circumstances of indocumentados, it is logical to begin with financial resources. It is axiomatic that the long journey to destinations within the United States requires financial capital (resources). Even the young unattached male who hitches rides to the border, swims across the river on his own, and then walks several hundred miles to his destination, needs something of a stake. But the do-it-yourself approach has become increasingly rare, even among our young male respondents. Now virtually everyone makes use of the services of a "coyote" to get across the border and to be delivered by motorized vehicle to the community of destination. This service is not cheap, the cost varying by distance from destination to border. In 1981, for destinations in Texas 200 to 300 miles beyond the border the going rate for an adult was $350, for children somewhat cheaper. If a family of four were to cross, this would involve a sum of excess of $1000, a sizable amount of money for rural Mexicans.

The money is obtained from savings, by selling valuable assets such as crops, animals, or land, or by loans from relatives, friends and, more rarely, from moneylenders. Rarely will a coyote delay collection of his fee until the client has obtained a job in the United States and is able to pay off the debt by installments. Indocumentados also must have some financial resources to defray costs while they settle in and find a job. Fortunately, this is often not a major consideration, since they can count on the hospitability and help of kin and friends during this period.

The last point introduces another resource form, social resources, which is very important in the migratory process. The existence of social networks, basically made up of kin, explains why so many of the families in our Austin study come from Bejucos, a village on the border of the states of Mexico and Guerrero. Individuals in social networks provide food and shelter to the newly arrived, and are also critical for finding first jobs. One of the most remarkable features of the entire indocumentado story is the rapidity and relative ease by which indocumentados get jobs, generally within a few days of arrival. This is made possible by the fact that the social networks provide up-to-date and reliable information on the existence of jobs that can be filled by indocumentados. As the latter gain experience in the community and expand their cultural resources, they customarily expand their social networks beyond those of kin, thus providing themselves with options that were not available upon first arrival.

Work resources have their own characteristics and logic. As noted, most jobs available to indocumentados rarely demand skills not already acquired on the job in Mexico, even in "traditional" agrarian communities. Such jobs do not require schooling or formal training, and the work resources are quite portable. Some indocumentados have utilized migration within Mexico to acquire work resources that have enabled them to get well-paying positions in the United States. One man, for example, moved from Bejucos to Mexico City, where he received training as a cook in a restaurant. Upon migrating to the United States, he was able to translate this experience into a high-paying position (now $1300 a month) in a restaurant specializing in Mexican food. He has complete authority

in the kitchen, hiring a six-man staff (all indocumentados), buying the foodstuffs, and organizing the kitchen routine.

Cultural resources are very largely acquired on the U.S. side of the border. Over time one learns a variety of things--where to get a certain product or service, techniques useful in approaching various local bureaucracies such as hospitals and schools--which make life easier. Most adult indocumentados do not learn English in any systematic fashion, but acquire a minimal basic vocabulary of 100 words or less and key phrases enabling them to perform adequately on the job and in routine shopping situations. This is not really becoming literate, for it does not enable indocumentados to deal with the written word, and their minimal vocabulary often actually inhibits them from making the sustained effort necessary to become literate. Nonetheless, it provides the rudimentary communicative skills necessary to move about in American society.

All four forms of resources can be used up as well as accumulated. Since the main motivation in coming to the United States is financial, indocumentados sometimes are able, by working long hours, to acquire a fairly sizable nest egg. But as illegal aliens they must be prepared for an unforeseeable sharp drop in their financial assets. They or other members of their family may be apprehended and sent back to Mexico; they often return quickly, but getting back entails costs. Also, as part of their social network, they may be called upon to help others meet the costs associated with apprehension. Both kinds of calls may come at any time. For example, one indocumentado for months had been planning a trip back to his village of origin but unexpectedly had to help out a member of his social network and thus depleted his financial reserves to the point that he was forced to cancel the trip. Those desiring to regu-

larize their status by becoming legal aliens must pay attorney fees and other costs running to thousands of dollars.

Work resources may atrophy if skills acquired in Mexico are not utilized. If one were a carpenter or bricklayer in Mexico but a dishwasher in the United States, the pay level may be higher but skills may deteriorate. Social resources also may be lost if the social networks are not actively maintained through continued interaction and the recruitment of new members to replace those who leave.

A number of criticisms have been raised regarding the resource accumulation model suggested here. Robert Bach, discussant of the first version of the paper, was unhappy with our practice of "calling everything capital—it homogenizes by definition rather than analysis the social relationships in which each activity develops." Our switch of terms from capital to resources doubtless would not stay his criticism. We acknowledge that the concept can be abused by overextension, but our intent is to formulate concepts to help account for the conditions that do or do not lead to the incorporation of the individual, family, or household into American society.[10] All that we wish to suggest by "incorporation" is simply this: to the degree that individuals and families or households can accumulate the four kinds of resources, the more successful they will be in providing themselves a reasonably secure existence in the United States.

We believe that it is helpful from an analytic standpoint to use one noun, resources, to depict various forms of accumulation, but homogenization is far from our intent. Contrary to our initial formulation, we believe that financial, work, social, and cultural resources differ sufficiently so that it makes little sense to seek a common metric that

could be used to develop an overall resource accumulation scale. Rather, we wish to emphasize that there is a strong interactive relationship among the four resources and that a strictly additive model would be inappropriate.

THE CHICANO-INDOCUMENTADO SEPARATION MODEL

The third model we wish to present is one that on the face of it may appear to be unnecessary. It is often assumed that the absorption of indocumentados into the host community of Chicanos presents few problems for either group--since they share a common heritage, language, religion, cuisine, etc., indocumentados simply become additions to the Chicano population. Some writers use the terms Chicano and Mexican interchangeably in their analyses.[11] And as a recent study of Chicano cultural identity and the ability of Chicanos to maintain cultural integrity in the face of the dominant Anglo culture concludes, "as long as there is substantial immigration from Mexico, the Chicano cultural base will be continuously reinforced" (Bowman, 1981, p. 51).

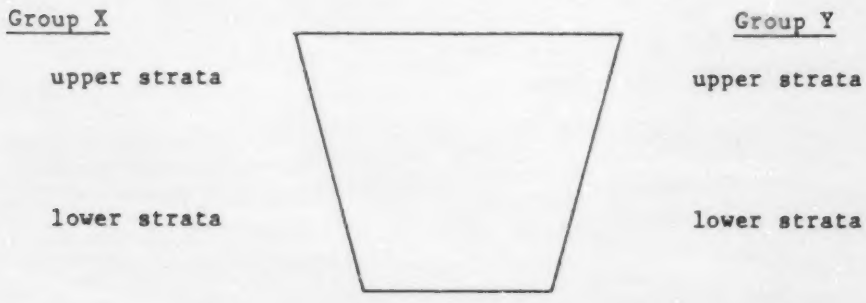
We must confess that the members of the Texas Indocumentado Study essentially took a similar position at the beginning of the investigation some years ago. Our experience has led us to take quite a different stance. Rather than assume an automatic entry of Mexican immigrants into the Chicano population, we see the indocumentado-Chicano relation as a complex phenomenon. Indeed, it is possible to take the position that the development of a distinctive Chicano culture is <u>inhibited</u> rather than facilitated by the immigration of Mexicans and the importation of things Mexican.

While historical accounts of the Chicano ethnic group usually recount the importance of early Mexican immigration for the demographic expansion of the Chicano people, they do not focus on the ways by which Mexicans "become" Chicanos. The dynamics of incorporation are largely ignored. Our position is that the relationship of indocumentados and Chicanos cannot be assumed to consist of an inevitable incorporation of the latter by the former. Consequently, the relationship must be subjected to a more elaborate and explicit theoretical exploration. We attempt this by the conceptual development of a "separation" model for indocumentados and Chicanos along three dimensions.

The Separation Model

In the model, "separation" refers to a distance between groups. In its most simple form we have Group X—Group Y. This says only that, whatever the metric of measurement, a certain separation exists, not whether the separation is increasing or decreasing over time. Let us emphasize that separation does not imply active hostility, simply that there is not much social interaction.

The formulation also makes no allowance for the internal differentiation of the groups. There are a number of ways such differentiation could be recognized; we shall deal with only one, social stratification, and that only in a simple distinction between higher and lower strata. Graphically, we delineate this as follows:



The interaction of the above is that there is a separation between Group X and Group Y, and that the separation is greatest between the upper strata of both groups.

Applying this general model to the situation of Chicanos and indocumentados we find that, especially in the last few decades, there has been a considerable differentiation by social stratification among the Chicano population, meaning an increasing representation in the upper as well as the lower strata. In contrast, the indocumentado population still is very heavily concentrated in the lower strata. True, there is some differentiation, and the settlement process is likely to increase it over time, but there are practically no professional or semiprofessional indocumentados, so the stratification differences as such are narrow.

However, we believe that there is an important differentiation among indocumentados depending on whether they were rural or urban residents in Mexico. The latter is likely to be associated with somewhat higher educational levels and more sophistication in dealing with urban conditions (a respondent fresh from rural Mexico expressed his discomfort in living in Austin by saying there were too many "fences") and often more varied work experience. The dimensions of intergroup separation between indocumentados and Chicanos we address are: (1) on the job, (2) associational

(interpersonal relations, mainly outside of the work context), and (3) cultural (ranging from linguistic style to musical preferences).

Work Separation

Briefly, what is covered here is not the extent of informal interpersonal contacts on the job between Chicanos and indocumentados (this is covered by the associational category) but the features of the technical division of labor and the social division of labor.[12] The technical divison of labor simply specifies what concrete work tasks are required of individuals. More so than Chicanos, indocumentados have work tasks that do not require much contact with others. They seldom are put in positions that require interaction with customers or clients where English is used. Even within plants or firms where contact with the public is not a consideration, they often do tasks that can be done without much verbal communication. (Indeed, one way of identifying a low-status job is to note that it doesn't require much communication; digging ditches, washing dishes, cleaning hotel rooms, and simple assembly line operations can be performed with minimal English or Spanish.)

The social division of labor concerns which ethnic groups occupy what positions in the labor hierarchy.[13] Of the three dimensions in our separation framework, we hypothesize work separation to be the condition of least apartness between indocumentados and Chicanos, especially the lower-working-class segment of the Chicano ethnic group. These Chicanos and indocumentados have similar labor characteristics. Both are situated in the inferior sector of the labor market. Their employment is characterized by heavy, dirty (and at times dangerous) work, irregular work

schedules, and low wages. The greatest degree of work separation we hypothesize between the two groups is that between indocumentados and upper-class Chicanos. This difference is between indocumentados who work predominantly as manual laborers and Chicanos in professional and managerial jobs.

Associational Separation

The condition of associational separation refers to the absence of interpersonal relations between members of different groups. For example, if members of one group interact frequently with members of a second group by developing many enduring friendships and intermarrying frequently, then the separation between these two groups can be described as minimal. However, if there is little association, and then usually only in secondary impersonal relationships, the associational separation is extensive. Using this concept, we hypothesize that there is some separation between indocumentados and all social-class segments of the Chicano population. Unlike the condition of work separation, we hypothesize that there is a somewhat greater associational separation between indocumentados and lower-working-class Chicanos. Two key factors contributing to this separation are working conditions—most indocumentados work exclusively with other indocumentados—and the development of endogamous social networks among indocumentados. Clearly, these two factors are related. However, the analytical value of considering them separately is that they may result from different circumstances. On the one hand, the condition of all-indocumentado work forces, which precludes or at least greatly reduces indocumentado-Chicano interaction, may be due to the deliberate hiring practices of employers. On the other hand, the

development of exclusively endogamous social networks among indocumentados, which needless to say also restricts Chicano-indocumentado relations, may be a consequence of indocumentados trying to maximize within-group resources for adaptation. This particular within-group adaptive strategy doubtless is related to the fact that the community is a relatively new destination for indocumentados. Thus, to the extent (which we believe is considerable) that these two factors contribute to associational separation, one is due to a condition that is exogamous to both indocumentado and Chicano workers (employer preference) and the other is due to an adaptation strategy.

Two other factors conducive to associational separation are the residential segregation of indocumentados and, to some extent, the mutual ingroup and outgroup perceptions of Chicanos and indocumentados. Of course, the associational separation between indocumentados and the upper-strata segment of the Chicano ethnic group consists basically of the social distance that results from differences in social status. Hence indocumentados and lower-strata Chicanos may be seen as having greater associational separation from upper-strata Chicanos than from each other. While in some instances upper-strata Chicanos may associate with lower-strata Chicanos (e.g., in a political campaign), the occurrence of this association with the politically powerless indocumentado group is even more infrequent. The only significant interactions that we project between indocumentado and upper-strata Chicanos are employer-employee relationships and occasionally agency-client relationships.

Cultural Separation

By "cultural separation" we mean the difference between groups in terms of ways of behaving. The term thus refers to distance among groups due to differences in, for example, language patterns, cuisine, folkways, and musical preference.[14] We hypothesize that cultural separation exists between indocumentados and Chicanos.

Among the most evident cultural differences between Chicanos and indocumentados are the following. In contrast to the indocumentados' almost exclusive reliance upon Spanish, Chicanos have developed a linguistic style that differs in pronunciation, grammatical constructions, and vocabulary from Mexican Spanish. But Chicanos often speak a combination of Spanish and English, switching from one language to another in the course of a conversation. (A number of Chicano writers deliberately have incorporated this feature in developing a distinctive style.)

Differences in cuisine are also evident. While the indocumentado's meal preparation may be affected by income and the availability of ingredients common in Mexico, it is clear that there are basic differences. For example, there are indocumentado preferences for corn tortillas, sopas, and traditional Mexican dishes that contrast with the Chicano preferences for flour tortillas, coffee, traditional barrio dishes, and fast-food meals. Of course, indocumentados and Chicanos do share food preferences (e.g., menudo, and the staples of corn, rice, and beans) but the dissimilarities are important.

Another significant cultural difference between indocumentados and Chicanos exists in tastes for music. The general preference of indocu-

mentados for purely Mexican music (a preference which has not gone unnoticed by Chicano entrepreneurs in the music industry) contrasts sharply with the Chicanos' wide-ranging preferences of Mexican, rock, and country-western music. Even within the Mexican music domain there is some difference between the two groups: music based on tropical forms is popular among many indocumentados; the Chicano preference is more for boleros, rancheras, and Chicano country, played in a distinctive Chicano style.

Obviously there is some interrelation between the three conditions of separation. The most evident interrelation is between associational separation and cultural separation. To the extent that indocumentado social events (dances, festival gatherings, etc.) are based entirely on traditional Mexican practices, present levels of associational separation will continue to exist. In Austin this relationship is well illustrated by a certain popular dance hall that is often patronized by close to a thousand indocumentados on Friday nights and by an equal number of Chicanos on Saturday nights. Each group has its own preferred musical performers (Mexican groups brought over from Mexico for indocumentados, and generally local and state Chicano groups for Chicano audiences). The consequence is that no more than 5% of the patrons on Friday nights are Chicanos; about the same percentage of the patrons on Saturday nights are indocumentados.

The importation of Mexican musicians raises an important point that can only be briefly addressed in this paper. Much has been written about the Americanization of Mexico through the penetration of U.S. mass culture in the media south of the border. Less appreciated is the strong penetration of Mexican cultural products in the United States, especially

in the Southwest, directed mainly at a Chicano audience. Mexican musicians appear in person and on records, Mexican movies are regularly screened, and Spanish-language television stations rely heavily upon Mexican programs. In short, Mexican capital (often in joint venture with local Chicano businessmen) has been quite successful in tapping large and growing markets in the United States. This puts the Chicano at some disadvantage. Their musical groups do not regularly tour Mexico; there are few Chicano movies, or television programs, aside from some local talk shows. In short, Chicano production networks are no match for those of Mexican capitalists. (In distribution there is frequently a combination of Mexican and Chicano capital.) One hardly can expect a distinctive Chicano culture to flourish amid this competition.

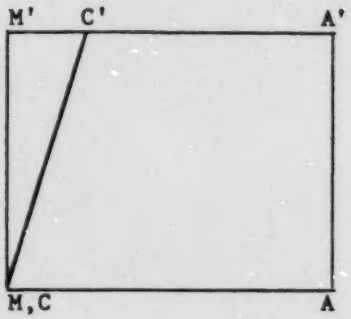
The pervasiveness of the Chicano-indocumentado separation is perhaps best demonstrated in the barrio setting. In this environment, where Chicanos and indocumentados often live in close proximity, social interaction largely occurs within and not between the two groups. As in work situations, even if Chicanos are in close proximity, associational contacts of indocumentados are with other indocumentados. On ceremonial occasions (e.g., baptisms, birthdays) most if not all of the invited guests will be indocumentados. Even the indocumentado children are characterized by a state of separation from Chicano children. While the two groups of children may interact at school, once they go home there is separation. Let us repeat the point made earlier: separation does not imply active hostility, simply that there is little social interaction.

Indocumentado Enclaves

It is our view that the conditions of separation we have briefly described constitute a state of enclave existence for indocumentados.[15] To the extent that the barrio existence of Chicanos represents an enclave within the larger Anglo society, indocumentados live in enclaves within enclaves. To a degree that we would not have thought possible prior to undertaking our investigation, the social and cultural perimeters of indocumentado interaction contain the indocumentado population alone. Although most indocumentados live in Chicano barrios, they may be characterized as in, but not of, the barrio, sticking pretty much to themselves. Even in work, an activity that requires a daily detachment from the household, indocumentados maintain associational enclaves that limit their contacts with other ethnic groups, including Chicanos.

Historically, we do not believe that this enclave pattern was characteristic of indocumentados; we view this condition as a recent phenomenon. Early in this century, say 1900 to 1910, there was probably very little cultural distinction between Mexicans living on both sides of the border. All were mexicanos sharing pretty much a common cultura mexicana. The term "Chicano" was not known at that time. From the perspective of the larger Anglo society, we can depict that early common culture condition as follows:

1900-1910



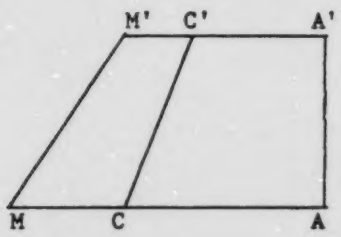
In this representation all social distances between Anglos and Chicanos are greater than any social distance between (and within) Mexicanos and Chicanos. The separation C'-A' is used to indicate the beginnings of association between upper-strata Chicanos (though few in number) and Anglo-Americans, such as through intermarriage. Separation C-A is used to describe the castelike separation that existed between the lower-working-class segments of the Anglo and Chicano populations. Clearly, it is safe to assume that in this early period, in which there was little difference in Mexican culture on both sides of the border, Mexican immigrants easily integrated with the Chicano subculture.

There are three reasons why there was so little differentiation between Mexicanos and Chicanos at that time. First, passage back and forth across the border was a casual matter, so the legality issue which demarcates indocumentados from legal aliens and U.S.-born Chicanos was not as prominent as it is today. Second, the socioeconomic level of both groups was much the same—very low. There was, except for the very few Spanish-origin elite groups throughout the Southwest, very little socioeconomic differentiation. Third, the development of a really distinctive Chicano

culture had barely begun. It is important to emphasize how recent is the development of Chicano culture, as distinguished from Mexican culture.

Today, we believe the situation to be quite different. As our model has tried to make clear, there exists a significant separation between Chicanos and Mexican immigrants, of whom the great majority are indocumentados. From the perspective of the larger U.S. society, we view the social separation as follows:

1980



Partly as a consequence of increased adaptation to the larger society and partly as a consequence of cultural development resulting from minority status (i.e., exclusion from full participation and power in the larger society), Chicano culture has evolved with a degree of uniqueness. This cultural development, we believe, reduces the ease of absorption of indocumentados into the Chicano ethnic group.

The matter should be viewed within the context of the relative size of the two populations. This is not the place to take up the troublesome problem of estimating the size of the indocumentado population, but simply for the sake of argument let us assume that the current size of the Chicano population is about eight million and that of the indocumentado population is in the neighborhood of two million. The ratio is four to one; our point simply is to demonstrate that both are large popula-

tions and the effects of one upon the other is considerable. Because of the concentration of indocumentados in the adult age range their impact is greater than the numbers alone would suggest.

In concluding our discussion of the separation model, we wish to emphasize that these relations will not remain unchanging. The magnitude of indocumentado flows may rise or fall, the economic conditions and their fluctuations in Mexico and the United States will affect both groups, and the political climate will have an independent impact. Without doubt, the way in which the U.S. government deals (or fails to deal) with the issue of indocumentado migration will influence the separation of Chicanos and indocumentados. If the direction is to a large extent in the form of a narrow, bracero labor-recruitment program limiting entries to a short term and actively discouraging the settlement process, this would maximize the enclave pattern in which there would be limited contacts between Chicanos and indocumentados. Should the government acknowledge the presence of the settlement group and provide them with some, if not all, of the benefits of citizenship, this may bring Chicanos and indocumentados closer together as the latter become more involved in American society.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE THREE MODELS FOR THE ANALYSIS OF INDOCUMENTADO LABOR

Much of this paper has been devoted to elaboration of three models. Before addressing the matter of their utility for the analysis of work, let us recall why the models were introduced in the first place. Fundamentally, their formulation was in response to the shift from a consideration of indocumentado migration as one of short-term, return migra-

tion of young unattached males to that of migration as a settlement process involving family formation and family reconstruction. This change represents a basic transformation, affecting virtually every aspect of migrants' lives.

Although the three models have been considered separately, there are a number of themes that are common to all. Time is of central importance, whether taken as historical time or as in points marking events in the individual and family life cycles. Time is also related to another omnipresent theme, the legal status of the migrants, whose behavior is conditioned by their present (and prospective) legal status. Social networks, though identified as the major feature of social accumulation, have an importance that transcends a location in one particular model.

This point can be generalized. Our three models are not intended to be considered as discrete but as complementary. There are interfaces and interrelationships at many points, not all of which we identified. The reproduction model, as has been noted, is the most inclusive of the three. Resource accumulation operates on the more restricted levels of individuals and families. (One could consider the forms of resource accumulation of entire populations, e.g., ethnic groups, but this may stretch the meaning of accumulation too much.) The separation model addresses the relationships between two or more groups on a structural level and, to a degree not developed in this paper, leads to a consideration of the place of indocumentados within American society as a whole. But none of the models is intended to be used exclusively on just one level of analysis.

The Nexus of Family or Household and Work

It is logical to begin the discussion of the implications of the models for the labor process with a consideration of the family or household, for nothing serves to identify the settlement process more sharply than that of the family as contrasted with the unattached migrant. An individual here for only a short time can engage in all kinds of "unnatural" behavior (e.g., working 70 or more hours a week, sharing a room with two or three migrants, saving and sending home one-half or more of income). This is possible because the time horizon is short, obligations in the United States are few, goals are limited--to earn as much money as possible in a short time.

A family changes all this, whether intended or not. The settlement process requires a different set of strategies that must be put into motion. Paradoxically, the family may serve to increase the ability of its members to sustain themselves while at the same time increasing their vulnerability. The advantage is that several members may contribute to family income and the performance of household tasks while the vulnerability is increased because the needs and requirements of families become more diversified and difficult to satisfy.

Indocumentado families must develop their strategies under a number of unfavorable conditions. First, by not having legal status they are not eligible in large measure for the range of welfare services available to poor families in the United States. None of our indocumentado families lives in public housing; none has unemployment compensation, and few have regular access to food stamps.[16] Second, most of the families have been rather recently formed; and the children are therefore mostly still

too young to contribute to family income. This means these families are at the most vulnerable stage of the family life cycle when child costs (hospital delivery, infant illnesses, etc.) are often high. Third, as has been repeatedly mentioned, indocumentados have low-paying jobs characterized by instability of employment and by wide swings in hours of work.

How do indocumentado families strive to overcome their disadvantaged situations? Basically, by trying to maximize the contributors to household income and the fulfillment of household maintenance chores. This effort takes several forms. In terms of housing, only a small fraction of our families live in households limited to the nuclear family. Most lived with related or nonrelated individuals, and there are a number of multiple-family households. Some of the latter are a result of newly arrived migrants who moved in with relatives. In these cases it is made clear that after a short settling-in period (a couple of weeks) the recently arrived indocumentados are expected to contribute to the financial maintenance of the household. Even close relatives who are invited to come are expected to do their share.

A second way to maximize household income is to ignore the Mexican norm that a mother with children should not work outside the home. Among our families, the woman who did not work was the rarity. Not surprising, many indocumentado women had very full "double days;" working full time and at home assuming the major responsibility for child care, food preparation, and household chores, including shopping. (The fathers after work helped around the house and with the shopping, but did little cooking or child care.)

A third way is the utilization of the labor of children. If the family is fortunate enough to have teen-age children, some of the children are encouraged to enter the labor force full time, simply skipping school. (Other families, however, believe their children, even the older ones, must have schooling if they are to have any success in American society, so they forego the income these children could contribute.) Even young children, especially girls, are given major responsibility for the care of infants and younger children while the mother is at work. In those instances where such labor is not available or the older children are in school, the parents pay neighbors (sometimes Chicana women) to look after the children. Household chores and preparation of meals are often assigned to the older children.

The fourth strategy adopted by families is to take in boarders (unrelated and related individuals). This is often characteristic of families where the father has a job (e.g., construction) that provides widely fluctuating income. The logic here is that rents paid by two or three boarders serve to guarantee that the monthly rent could be met even in times of bad weather or slack work when the head of household earns little. However, there are some cases in which the father has a relatively secure and good income and the family still takes in boarders. This is an instance of efforts to maximize financial accumulation.

One consequence of these strategies is a high degree of household compositional instability and turnover. The core nuclear family may lose its boarders or relatives, and sometimes the joint-family households split up. Members may return to Mexico for some months or even permanently, while others move to another part of the country. Newly arrived indocumentados leave to set up their own households. Obviously,

this turnover introduces considerable uncertainty.[17] In one instance the head of household controlled the incomes of six adult contributors and was able to make payments on two pickup trucks and several major household appliances. Within a year, however, household turnover had reduced the contributors to two, and the man was in severe financial straits.

The practice of turnover and the accompanying moves from one residence to another may appear to entail substantial costs in making deposits on apartments or housing and for utilities. The common practice is for the current residents to pay under the name of the first indocumentado who occupied the residence. The one exception is phones. Indocumentados often keep in contact with relatives in Mexico by phone and in doing so run up substantial bills. No one wants to get stuck with large, unpaid bills, so each family must establish service under its own name.

In linking work and the family or household, it is the resource accumulation model that has the greatest salience. It shows how the various members of the family or household can be mobilized not only for multiple contributions to financial capital, but also how social and cultural capital accumulations can be useful in financial and work accumulation.

Employer Benefits of Indocumented Labor

Employers are virtually unanimous in categorizing indocumentados as good workers, and they often compare them very favorably with native workers, especially Chicanos. This should come as no surprise because indocumentados, if for no other reason than their illegal status, are quite tractable workers, and are very responsive to their employers' desires. We will set forth the five ways in which employers benefit from

indocumentado labor and then ask whether the settlement process has any impact on these characteristics.

1. Speeded-up work pace. The benefit is greater output and therefore higher productivity. In addition to an increased pace, indocumentados are not always provided the rest periods that other workers receive, and this too increases output.

2. Hiring at one level and then requiring indocumentados to do higher-level work at no increase in pay. After a short period of on-the-job training, the indocumentado may be required to do a higher-skill task. Illustrations are in restaurants, where dishwashers are made to work as assistant cooks, and in factories, where machine operators have to work as repairmen when the machines break down.

3. Erratic work schedules. Employers expect indocumentados to be on call whenever needed and to work overtime. In a landscaping company indocumentados worked up to 77 hours per week, but were not paid for overtime hours. A produce-packing company required workers to be on call at any time of the day or night when the produce arrived. Those who did not show were suspended for several days. In a tortilleria where the antiquated machinery frequently broke down, workers were not paid while they waited for the machines to be repaired.

4. Hard and dangerous working conditions. Employers skimp on investments that would provide for more pleasant and safer working conditions. For example, in several food-preparation businesses, workers had to labor in hot and poorly ventilated areas where not even fans were provided. A cement precasting fabricator had indocumentados loading large cement columns onto trailers. Not provided with gloves or steel-toe shoes, they experienced broken toes and fingers.

5. Low wage costs. This is more complex than simply whether the employer pays the minimum wage. The majority, but not all, do so. For example, the employer of an indocumentado four-man painting crew had them on the job from seven in the morning till eight in the evening, six days a week, and paid each worker just $20 a day. In restaurants, workers were charged for meals they had no time to eat. The practice of making deductions for services not received is not uncommon. Thus, even though many employers pay minimum wages, their labor costs still are substantially below that paid to native labor because they do not pay overtime or various fringe benefits (e.g., insurance, retirement). In addition, indocumentados are often kept at minimum wage levels for long periods. One national manufacturing corporation maintained indocumentados at the minimum wage for the first year and a half of employment. The few who earned $4 or more an hour usually had supervisory or semisupervisory responsibilities or had "proven" themselves over several years.

It is no wonder that employers declare themselves happy to have undocumented workers, but it is the temporary migrant who is the most tractable. Those who have more experience and are in the United States as part of a settlement process sooner or later question and sometimes resist such work practices. The change is partly a matter of cultural resource accumulation, as they learn how native workers are treated, and partly a matter of unwillingness to accept poor conditions over an indefinite period of time, in contrast to the short periods characteristic of return and circular migrants. Thus we find that over time indocumentados did come to resist a speeded-up work pace, taking on higher skill tasks at the same pay, or holding jobs with greater responsibilities without higher pay. They also become more unwilling to completely subordinate

their non-work life to the demands of employers for erratic work schedules and long hours. They are willing to complain directly to owners or supervisors about poor or dangerous work conditions. They can bring themselves to petition individually or collectively for pay raises.

These efforts to assert themselves are not often successful. Many employers continue to operate on the assumption that there is an unlimited supply of indocumentado labor. If workers complain or resist, then it is simply a matter of getting rid of them and hiring others. And employers can always threaten to turn them in to the Immigration and Naturalization Service to keep them in line.

Still, we believe that to the extent the "settlers" represent an increasing proportion of the total indocumentado population, the greater the likelihood that indocumentado workers will assert themselves and will be less tractable to employer control.

Work and Other Forms of Indocumentado Social Mobility

Discussion of the prospects for social mobility among indocumentados can begin by reference to the enclave existence of the great majority of them and how this is related to jobs.

When indocumentados are hired they can be considered either as individuals or as members of a social group. The distinction is as follows.

As individuals, indocumentados are a numerical minority in the firm and they are individually incorporated with various work crews. They are hired as individuals, and employers do not systematically extract benefits from them on the basis of their illegal status.

As members of a social group, indocumentados make up the majority of the work force, or at least their work crews are made up entirely of

indocumentados. Employers consider them as a distinct social group and often will try to extract benefits from them because of such an identification.

It might be assumed that wherever possible indocumentados will seek to be hired on an individual rather than a group basis, for it would be to their advantage to be considered just like other workers. But this is not generally the case. Indocumentados tend to form homogeneous work groups. Why? We believe part of the answer is to be found in the separation model in which indocumentados represent an enclave within an enclave. Associated with it is the social network that is part of social resources. Most indocumentado immigrants to a community make use of the social network linking this community to the one of origin in Mexico. This pattern has a decisive impact on how they find jobs. In effect, indocumentados recruit other indocumentados, thus increasing the homogeneity of the work group. This may occur independently of whether employers make deliberate efforts to hire indocumentados, but often the two practices are complementary. Our evidence indicates clearly that indocumentados will strive for homogeneity within the work group, as is indicated by the case in which an employer hired a Chicano and put him into a work crew of six indocumentados. He did not last long, for the hostility and lack of cooperation of the others forced him out. Thus, we believe that the in-group character of much of indocumentado employment serves to inhibit job mobility. Interestingly enough, while this pattern was found both in Austin and in San Antonio, it was the latter that had a higher rate of individual placement than had Austin. Perhaps the very fact of the much larger proportional representation of Chicanos made it easier for indocumentados to blend in on an individual basis.

As has already been suggested, there is not much occupational or job mobility among indocumentados, either in Austin or San Antonio. Women are almost completely in low-status, dead-end jobs that have very restricted opportunities for moving up to a higher status position. There is more variation among the men. Two, in fact, had obtained responsible and well-paying positions as chefs in restaurants specializing in Mexican food, but they were truly exceptional. Most men start at the minimum wage and they must wait months for nickel and dime wage increases up to about $3.75 an hour. The few indocumentados earning $4.00 an hour or more had either the seniority of three or more years experience or had taken on supervisory responsibilities, generally of an informal designation.

Among indocumentados, it is not occupational or job mobility that serves to differentiate them. Status changes come mainly by financial accumulation in the form of property. For example, the ability to buy a car gives indocumentados a higher status because it shows that they have control over an important part of their existence—transportation. A late model can heighten one's status by advertising the owner as financially resourceful. Those without cars spoke of those with them as having to "struggle less."

Possessing a car confers distinction upon the family as well as the individual, but even more of a status symbol signifying that the family is "making it" is the conversion of rented houses or apartments into "homes." (Two or three indocumentado families are buying their own homes, but this is not a realistic consideration for the typical family.) This transformation consists of getting enough financial security so that boarders are no longer needed. Household improvements are introduced—

buying furniture, putting down floor coverings, getting new curtains, adding household appliances. Indocumentado wives are especially concerned with improving their homes and they will explicitly compare their house furnishings with those of other indocumentado families.

Other than following the changes in the material possessions of indocumentado families, the members of this group did not engage in much discussion of social mobility. Probably the reluctance to do so was related to the recognition that the chances for any really significant social mobility depended upon something not directly linked to one's work skills or one's skills in household management. This factor is one's legal status. Several respondents reported that they believed they could not effectively improve their employment situations until they had acquired the proper legal status. They said that they knew this, as did their employer.

It is for this reason that indocumentado families follow closely the efforts of the national government to formulate a national policy concerning indocumentados. Obviously, those now in the settlement process would welcome the opportunity to acquire legal status quickly and cheaply. Paying a lawyer to guide one's case through the long and convoluted legal process costs thousands of dollars, with no guarantee that the petition will be successful. Even though it is a major drain on their financial resource accumulation, families are willing to take the risk because so much hinges on legal status.

There is one way to promote social mobility that also enhances one's prospects for obtaining legal status. Unfortunately, its rewards entail a considerable delay. Throughout the world one of the incentives for undertaking rural to urban migration and international migration is not

the prospect of intragenerational mobility but rather intergenerational mobility. In other words, many indocumentados are realistic enough to know that their own prospects for job mobility are very low but they are much more optimistic that their children will do well. And if the children are born here they automatically have rights to citizenship, which provides preferential consideration in getting the parent's legal status changed.

In conversations, indocumentados make it clear that they expect their children to have better economic opportunities than their own. This viewpoint is reflected through two independent but related factors. The first is that their children will be better "preparado." That is, their children's work resources (skills) will be superior (generally stated as "knowing how to do other jobs"). There is a somewhat vaguely expressed notion that the United States is a more open and resourceful society than is Mexico, and therefore the "opportunity structures" available to their children are more diversified and richer.

The first reason is linked to the second and is in an important sense dependent upon it. The principal mechanism by which their children may obtain better jobs is through education. But education has a meaning special to indocumentados: it is the ability to handle English in its spoken and written forms. Independent of any vocational skills acquired, becoming competent in English will permit their children to open doors that will always remain closed to them. So indocumentado parents tend to be quite positive and supportive in seeing that their children enter and stay in school. (An indication of the commitment on the part of these parents is that enrolling their children in schools potentially makes them more exposed to the risk of apprehension.) For the parents,

the full payoff will be some time in the future, but even quite young children who know English can be valuable intermediaries between their parents and Anglo society.

NOTES

[1]Let us immediately set forth our own preferences for labels to be attached to the populations we will review. Our choices are indocumentados (shorter and more descriptively correct than the English term "undocumented workers," not all of whom are workers); Chicanos (admittedly not the choice of all Mexican-descent citizens of the United States, but it too is less clumsy than the English "Mexican Americans"); and mexicanos (to denote all those born in Mexico but resident in the United States).

[2]This paper is not intended as a survey of the growing literature. See, for example, Corwin (1978), Cornelius (1978) and Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy (1981). As a point of reference for the Chicano population, see Tienda (1981).

[3]Still the most frequently cited study based on this approach is North and Houston (1976).

[4]A recent effort to provide the "big picture" of international migration on a global basis is Portes (1981).

[5]The work of Castles and Kosack (1973) is a formidable attempt to analyze international migratory labor in Western Europe utilizing the two approaches.

[6]We report the city rather than the metropolitan area populations because indocumentados tend to congregate in the inner cities, where we concentrated our investigations.

[7]A good description of this labor recruitment is by a historian, Reisler (1976).

[8]This is not to say that they are fully able to take advantage of their rights. Undoubtedly, their parents' lack of legal status, along with other conditions associated with minority status, affects their ability to do so.

[9]In the conference version of this paper we used the term capital accumulation, our intent being to take a concept familiar in the economics literature and then to extend it to other areas of behavior. In France, Bourdieu (1977) has taken a similar direction, and although we have tried to work out our formulation independently of his efforts, it seemed a good idea to suggest a certain continuity in approach. Unfortunately, capital accumulation as a concept has connotations that are not necessary for us to assume and which serve to cloud rather than clarify the issues. Marxists see capital as something that is appropriated, but we do not make this assumption. On the other hand, neoclassical economists consider capital accumulation in a more restricted sense than our intent. It therefore is more prudent to switch from capital accumulation to resource accumulation, the latter being a more general concept, less freighted with specific meanings.

[10]The term "incorporation" requires comment. It is deliberately selected from among a number of possible terms—"assimilation, absorption," "integration"—because we wanted a neutral, even colorless, connotation.

[11]For example, in Acuña's well-known study (1981), an index entry reads "Mexicans. See also Chicanos."

[12]Our use of these categories of the division of labor is derived from the work of Poulantzas (1975) and Wright (1978).

[13]Implicit is the condition that positions in the labor hierarchy are interrelated both through the (technical) process of production and the work relations of employees.

[14]Behaviors in these cultural realms have symbolic purposes, so it is possible to speak of cultural separation as symbolic perception and meaning.

[15]Because indocumentados are able to fulfill various cultural, social, and economic needs among themselves, we believe it appropriate to describe them as forming an enclave.

[16]Food stamps are available only for legal residents of the United States. Heer and Falasco (1982) present some startling results from their study of Los Angeles County, California. For the period August 1980 through March 1981, they estimate that 13.2% of all county births were to indocumentado mothers. They also report that 19% of the indocumentado mothers received food stamp income and 20% were enrolled in the Medi-Cal Program.

[17]Uncertainty is on the part of the indocumentados. Employers, who consider this labor homogeneous, are not uncertain. Consistent with the position taken by Piore, it is our belief that employers act on the assumption that there is an unlimited supply of undocumented workers.

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